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AUTHOR Underwood, Willard A.; Ferguson, Ralph E.
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ABSTRACT

The United States Census Bureau estimated the nation's population grew by 10 million people between 1970 and 1975; 85% of this growth occurred in the 29 states which constitute the South and West. These states attracted large numbers of new residents, growing at a much faster rate than the national average of 4.8%. During this five year period, Arizona was the fastest growing state with an increase of 25% in population. Also more blacks moved to the southern states than left. While the rate of inmigration accelerated especially in the Deep South, the large metropolitan areas of the Southwest also registered significant increases in numbers and percentages of black citizens. The status of blacks in the Southwest is reflected in the conditions of blacks generally. While conditions "have" improved in many aspects, "basic" conditions have not changed substantially for large segments of the black population. This paper discusses the current status of blacks in the Southwest. Topics covered are their political, economic, and social conditions; the economic conditions in the central cities, i.e., Watts in south Los Angeles; and their education. (Author/NQ)

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BLACK AMERICANS IN THE SOUTHWEST

by

Willard A. Underwood

and

Ralph E. Ferguson

Department of Speech and Theatre
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona 85281

From the collected work, "The Current Status of Minorities in the Southwest" papers presented at The Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research, Chicago, Illinois, 24-27 February 1977.

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BLACK AMERICANS IN THE SOUTHWEST

Since the 1940s a steady stream of black Americans has migrated out of the South toward northern industrial cities, becoming a significant segment of the northern labor force. During the past few years, especially since 1970, the trend has slowly reversed itself; today it appears clear that more blacks are moving to the southern states than leave. During 1970-74 the number of blacks four years of age and older who moved to the South exceeded outmigration by 35,000. While the rate of inmigration has accelerated especially in the Deep South, the large metropolitan areas of the Southwest also registered significant increases in numbers and percentages of black citizens--especially the metropolitan areas of Phoenix, Denver and Los Angeles.[1] The gradual shift of the American population from the industrialized North toward the South and West was underscored by one Census Bureau official, who theorized the major factor in increasing growth of population in the Deep South was because fewer blacks were leaving. At the same time, white families from the North continue to settle in the West and South.[2]

The United States Census Bureau estimated the nation's population grew by 10 million people between 1970 and 1975; 85 per cent of this growth occurred in the 29 states which constitute the South and West. This "sunbelt," which is represented by a broad arc from Montana to Arizona, then east through Texas into Florida and North Carolina, is attracting large numbers of new residents, growing at a much faster rate than the national average of 4.8 per cent. The official shift in population for the Southwestern states is as follows, expressed in thousands:

	July 1, 1975	April 1, 1970	% change
	(IN THOUSANDS)		
United States, total	213,121	203,304	+4.8
Northeastern States	49,461	49,061	+0.8
North Central States	57,669	56,593	+1.9
The South	68,113	62,812	+8.4
The West	37,878	34,838	+8.7
Texas	12,237	11,199	+9.3
New Mexico	1,147	1,017	+12.7
Arizona	2,224	1,775	+25.3
California	21,185	19,971	+6.1
Colorado	2,534	2,210	+14.7

The fastest-growing state in the nation during this five year period was Arizona--with an increase of 25% in population! The entire Southwest is significantly above the national growth rate.[3]

A recent New York Times survey indicates a probability that large numbers of blacks, who left the South to avoid racism and lack of economic opportunity, are now returning. Other surveys indicate that one of every three southern blacks stays in the South. Because most surveys cover limited geographic areas, demographers and social scientists have differing statistical bases and interpretations; but the U.S. Census Bureau's information shows that during the 1940s the proportion of the nation's blacks who lived in the South fell from 69% to 60%; during the 1950s the figure dropped to 52%; and during the 1960s the number fell to 45%. But a March 1973 survey showed that from 1970 to 1973 166,000 blacks moved out of the South, but 247,000 moved in.[4]

What seems clear is that blacks will continue to be a significant minority in most urban centers, including the developing metropolitan centers of the West and South; while blacks comprise 27% of the city of Dallas, they live in a concentrated area on the city's South Side which includes 90% of the city's black population; a similar situation exists in Phoenix.[5]

In a 1975 New York Times national survey, northern blacks indicated more concern about racial discrimination than did southern blacks; they also exhibited more self-esteem and felt more job security and greater fear of crime. Fifty-three per cent of Southern blacks expected to take at least one step upward (on a ten-step "ladder of life") in the next five years, compared with 46 per cent of northern blacks and 43 per cent of the nation as a whole.[6] Two groups have become increasingly optimistic about the future--women and blacks under age 30. These two groups are approximately twice as confident as all Americans in making substantial progress during the next five years. Expectations are especially high among college-educated blacks.[7] An impressive 62 per cent of young blacks indicated an expectation of advancing at least two steps up "the ladder" in the next five years.[8] The deepest pessimism was exhibited by those hardest hit by economic recessions--the unemployed, the elderly, older blacks and people with the least amount of skills and education.

The status of blacks in the southwest is reflected in the conditions of blacks generally. An official change of position by the Federal government was reflected by President Kennedy in 1963, when he recognized the severity of the black experience in America, noting "the harmful, wasteful and wrongful results of racial discrimination and segregation still appear in virtually every aspect of national life, in virtually every part of the nation."[9] While conditions <u>have</u> improved in many aspects since 1963, as will be noted later in this paper, <u>basic</u> conditions have not changed substantially for large segments of the black population since Kennedy amplified his views in a national telecast:

> The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed about one-seventh as much chance of earning ten thousand dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and the prospects of earning only half as much.[10]

Numerous changes have occurred, largely because of large numbers of blacks (and often whites) working together to implement changes. Typically, changes have been easiest to implement in areas where blacks--although a minority of the population--controlled or significantly affected local politics. In the Southwest (with the exception of Los Angeles, San Francisco and several smaller communities) blacks are <u>not</u> the largest minority, even in the inner cities. Not being the largest ethnic minority has meant that blacks in many communities of the Southwest, unlike other parts of the nation, have frequently found themselves watching other ethnic groups create political, economic and social changes.

In 1968, following the riots which erupted in several cities for three consecutive summers, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) found that violence had become a form of social protest by non-criminal elements and was justified as such by a large percentage of blacks.[11] The Commission emphasized the importance of understanding the causes of racial conflict, noting that:

> 1. The nation is rapidly moving toward two increasingly separate Americas.
>
> Within two decades, this division could be so deep that it would be almost impossible to unite:
>
> a white society principally located in suburbs, in smaller central cities and in the peripheral parts of large central cities; and
>
> a Negro society largely concentrated within large central cities.[12]

The difficulty of measuring actual attitudes and conditions on the basis of "official" studies is dramatically demonstrated by the McCone Report, the "Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots," which found that a small minority of Watts residents--two per cent--actually participated in the "Watts riot" of 1965;[13] but sociologist Harry Ransford found that twenty-seven per cent of these residents would have been willing to use violence to achieve rights (participate in the "riots"). Ransford concluded that: (1) those high in powerlessness are more likely to join a riot than those who are low in powerlessness, because minority individuals who feel powerless in a white society are more likely to carry feelings of discontent and hostility against their oppressor, and individuals with low expectancies of exerting control over their own destinies and society at large are more likely to turn to violent attacks against that society; (2) violence willingness is highly related to living within the "deep" ghetto (severest conditions); and (3) ghetto residency and the sense of powerlessness aggravate each other to the degree that fifty-five per cent of those experiencing both conditions would consider using violence.[14]

Contrary to popular beliefs, the priority of black expectations is very similar to whites. Newsweek reported in 1968 that then top-priority was given to jobs (51%), education (39%), and housing (36%).[15] The most striking difference today from the mid-1960s according to Dr. Leon W. Chestang, a professor for the School of Social Science Administration at the University of Chicago, is that:

> missing today is a philosophical base for mass action. In the nineteen-sixties the violence we saw had an ideology behind it, civil rights and black power, . . . Now there is none. People are no less hungry, but they are dealing with

> their anger in other ways than rioting, such as random acts of violence on the one hand and self-improvement on the other.[16]

Dr. James Comer of the department of psychiatry at Yale University adds that another reason for the shift to random acts of violence is the change in civil rights movements, and the limited and superficial accomplishments of civil rights groups. Comer says he finds the current conditions serious, but found few leaders in Washington who are aware of conditions. Most officials seem to believe that a lack of outbreaks of violence means satisfactory racial relations; but:

> I don't think they (leaders in Washington) realize that we're dealing with a different black psyche now, . . . Many black youngster [sic] feel justified in attacking symbols of white power.
>
> For example, a black kid who has been abused and whose family has been abused and he senses that the abuse has been racial, someone who comes along talking about "human kindness" would especially be a target. The black youngster's actions on that day were a kind of protest of what he considered to be a lie. . .
>
> It's like a volcano, there it is, peaceful and quiet. But you know it could erupt at any time, now or five years from now. It's scary.[17]

Political Conditions

The South has become a laboratory to indicate black political gains. Since 1962 over three and one-half million black voters have registered, but over two and one-half million blacks of voting age remained unregistered as of May 1976. "Purging" of voter registration lists, the requirement that voters register for each election (thereby providing the opportunity for harassment and economic reprisals) still occurs in several localities of the Deep South; black voters in the North typically register a low voter turnout, and are generally described as apathetic. Lisle C. Carter, Jr., of the Atlanta University center, suggests

that in addition to obvious reasons for differences in trends between black and white voters, black population is younger and poorer; younger and poorer people vote less frequently. Blacks who do participate in electoral politics have received minimal benefits, compared with benefits accorded whites; thus the "payoff" from blacks attaining elective offices has been minimal. Blacks and others tend to vote only when political leaders define their public positions in response to basic needs.[18] H. Brandt Ayers, editor and publisher of the Anniston (Alabama) Star, notes a widening gap in perception between black office holders and those who made their election possible; he suggests that in the 1960s blacks were unified by the pursuit of great goals which temporarily suppressed natural differences in temperament and ideology; this seems to be changing slowly.[19]

While 55,000 elected officials would be necessary to accurately represent the percentage of blacks in the U.S. population, the number of black office-holders increased to 3,503 by May of 1975; this represented an increase of 88 per cent since March of 1971 (1,860 total). The 1975 figures include 135 mayors (67% increase since 1971). In one year alone (1974) the number of black mayors rose from 83 to 108--an increase of 30%. Most mayors are in the South, and many are located in small rural communities; but an increasing number of blacks are being elected mayors of medium and large cities in the North--cities with 25,000 population or more. It is in this size city that the majority of Americans now live.[20] Twenty-six medium and large cities have elected black mayors, including Gary, Detroit, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Berkeley, College Park (Md.), Chapel Hill and New Brunswick, N.J. Three of the largest ten cities--

Washington, Los Angeles and Detroit--have black mayors. Contrary to popular belief, most cities with black mayors do not have predominantly black populations. In most of the 26 cities (17), blacks are a distinct minority. In Boulder, less than one per cent of the population; in College Park, less than five per cent; in ten others, including Grand Rapids, less than 25 per cent. Black voters predominate in only three large cities with black mayors--Compton (Ca.), Washington, D.C., and East St. Louis.[21]

There are 76 black mayors in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. Most were elected since 1970, as a direct result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These are among over 1,500 black officials in the Confederacy states, ranging from Justices of the Peace to Congressmen. At the same time, Julian Bond notes that 362 black-majority towns in the South still had not elected a single black official, and only six of 101 black-majority counties in the South had governments controlled by blacks.[22] A May 1976 Voter Education Project found that in these eleven states, a total of 1,588 blacks held office; this represented an increase of 2,000 per cent since 1965. These officials were found in Alabama (167), Arkansas (182), Florida (67), Georgia (182), Louisiana (195), Mississippi (191), North Carolina (181), South Carolina (134), Tennessee (92), Texas (127) and Virginia (70). The variety of positions held is also interesting: 3 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, 11 state senators, 84 state representatives, 217 county officials, 56 mayors, 678 other municipal officials, 163 law-enforcement officials, 376 education officials. But impressive though these figures are, the total represents only two per cent of the 79,000

elective offices in the South. In city offices, blacks held 788 or 2.7% of the 28,552 available positions. Thus despite impressive black gains in the Deep South especially, equality of representation is still illusive; blacks have captured generally minor offices. No black holds a statewide office in the South; with the exception of an unexpired term on the Florida Supreme Court, the South's few black judges sit in minor local courts; there is not a single black member of the Federal judiciary in the South, nor a single black district attorney.[23]

The effect of black political power has become stronger than the ability to elect a few black office-holders. Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger, chief of the civil rights division, urged a 5-year extension of the Voting Rights Act; testifying before the house subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, Pottinger charged that while more blacks are participating in the nation's political life, more needs to be done.[24] New York City Human Rights Chairman Eleanor H. Norton noted there are no blanket solutions to problems, but stronger enforcement of the Voting Rights Act in the North, coupled with "drastic action" to involve minorities in planning public transportation, would help.[25] The Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced plans to stop investigating discrimination complaints from individuals, and plans to concentrate efforts on searching out broad patterns of bias in such institutions as school districts and government-supported industries; this proposed change in operations would become operative within a few months. The department had been criticized by courts and private organizations for alleged laxity in enforcement of civil rights laws. The proposed changes would supposedly enable the department's

500 civil rights inspectors to work more effectively.[26] HEW Department of Civil Rights Office Director Peter Holmes said the office could investigate only about one-fourth of the complaints filed.[27] But Joseph Rauh, of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, charged that the decision to sharply reduce investigation of complaints was a "shocking abdication of responsibilities," and a violation of a ruling by Judge John H. Pratt which required the department to investigate within 90 days all complaints of racial discrimination. The new proposal would require HEW to notify complainants whether the charges would be investigated.[28]

The U.S. General Accounting Office recommended revision of the nation's $30.2 billion Federal revenue-sharing program to provide stricter enforcement of anti-discrimination laws.[29] These and other proposals will increasingly affect blacks in the Southwest; at this point in time, urban blacks in metropolitan centers such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Phoenix, Tucson and Dallas tend to share most conditions evidenced in the large cities of the northern industrial region. Blacks in smaller, especially rural, areas of the Southwest tend to receive treatment comparable to that they might expect in comparable areas of the South.

Economic Conditions

The overall economic condition of black Americans has improved in the last twenty years, and has improved markedly when compared with the average income of all Americans. In 1949 the median income for black families was $1,665, or 51% of the median income for white families ($3,232); only 16% of

black families (as compared with 55% of white families) had incomes of $3,000 or more.[30] In 1974 the median income for black families was estimated at $7,800, while the median income for white families was estimated at $13,000 for the same period. This represents an increase from 51% to 60% of white income levels.

In two categories of families, blacks made significant economic advances. In young families where the head of the household is under age 35, and both spouses work, an income level has been achieved which is almost equal to levels of white counterparts for the last three statistical years for which data is available (1970-1973). Although comparable groups of black families in the South have not yet achieved income parity as exhibited by blacks in the North and West, they made important strides in narrowing the income gap. Between 1970 and 1973, the ratio of black-to-white median income for Southern families with the head of household under age 35 and both spouses working rose from 74 to 87 per cent.[31] But in 1974 low-income blacks constituted 31% of the black population, over three times the percentage of white families (9%) at this economic level.[32]

Black businessman and black-owned firms consist primarily of retail trade and selected services (hotels, garages, personal services, etc.). Nationally, 16 states had 5,000 or more black-owned firms in 1972. California recorded the largest amount of gross receipts for black-owned businesses and had more black businesses than any other state; Texas ranked second in number of black-owned firms. Thus while ownership of business is not proportionate to black population, the Southwest is leading the way in offering opportunities.[33]

But while the economic picture for black Americans <u>has</u> improved overall in the last twenty years, in recent years blacks

have been harder hit than whites in economic losses. Black income peaked in the late 1960s at 61% of the white level; from that point, a steady decline in economic status ensued. In 1971, black family income fell to 60% of the white level; in 1972, to 59%; in 1973-74 to 58%; and in 1975 to 56%. From the end of 1973 to the present, the proportion of black families in the middle-income range dropped sharply from one-fourth to one-fifth of all black families.[34]

In February 1976, when national unemployment stood at 7.6% officially, the rate of black unemployment was set at 14.1%. But these figures do not accurately reflect the true bleakness of black unemployment: based upon all available data regarding actual unemployment, including "discouraged workers" who had ceased looking for work and were no longer categorized as "unemployed," a more accurate unemployment figure was 13.6% for whites and 25.5% for blacks. Data from the 25 major areas of black urban population indicate that black unemployment commonly is in excess of 30%.[35] In February 1976 the official unemployment rate among black 16-19 year olds was 35.2% (17.1% for whites); but numerous researchers have found the actual rate more probably was 50%, perhaps as high as 60%.[36] The national unemployment rate in 1933, at the height of the Great Depression, was 24.9%, the highest official rate recorded in the history of the U.S.

A further problem among nonwhite working poor is that thousands of black wage earners who are officially counted as employed actually live in poverty and are "underemployed." Herrington J. Bryce, an economist and chief researcher at the Joint Center of Political Studies in Washington, D.C., indicates "we have clearly built a permanent underclass that has to be

supported either by poverty programs or otherwise."[37] Herbert Hill, labor director for the NAACP, adds that:

> Rates of unemployment among black youth have reached disaster levels. If they continue, and unfortunately there is every reason to believe they will, it is necessary to conclude that virtually an entire generation of ghetto youths will never enter the labor force. . . . This development is the single most volatile factor in potential large-scale urban unrest and holds explosive implications for the future stability of American society.[38]

MIT Sloan Management School economics professor Lester Thurow states that recent trends indicate the gap between incomes for blacks and whites is--and will continue--widening, despite temporary gains toward economic parity which occurred in the 1960s. A Newark symposium marking the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's 10th anniversary predicted that this trend will continue, and attributes the generally bleak economic outlook for the nation for affecting blacks and other minorities disproportionately. Formal and informal seniority provisions in hiring and layoffs further aggravate the situation. Blacks, American Indians and persons of Spanish heritage are the only ethnic groups with incomes below the national average.[39]

While the Census Bureau claimed the median income gap between a black family of four and a comparable white family remained relatively stable during 1974, the National Urban League annual survey contends the gap widened, noting that:

--between 1973 and 1974 the proportion of middle-income black families dropped sharply from one-fourth to one-fifth.

--the 1974-75 depression caused a resurgence of "doubling up" among black families; the proportion of black children living with only their mother and some families of households headed by relatives rose to 33 per cent (from 22%).

--since 1969 the work experience of all black wage-earners has declined as a result of the cumulative effects of the 1969-71 and 1974-75 economic conditions.

--a disproportionate number of adult blacks were laid off in 1974-75;black adult women and teenagers were more likely to be

forced out of the labor market altogether because of poor employment prospects.

--unemployed blacks were less likely to receive unemployment compensation or benefits from the unemployed-parent segment of the AFDC program than white workers.

--only 7 per cent of all black families and 20% of black families headed by women were completely dependent upon public assistance.

--45% of black families headed by women and 43% of all black families below the official poverty level did not receive public assistance.

--the proportion of multiple-earner black families continued to decline during 1974, while the proportion of multiple-earner white families increased. Thus whites now have a higher proportion of families with two or more incomes than blacks.

The 1974-1975 economic slump was characterized as:

> particularly devastating to blacks, since they had not fully recovered from the recession of 1969-71. . . . That recession was so severe that it caused the number of black and white poor to rise for the first time since poverty statistics were instituted in the early nineteen-sixties. . . . But while whites began to recover from this recession by 1972, the number of black poor did not begin to decline until 1973. . . .
>
> More important, however, is the fact that blacks have been in a state of chronic recession for the past 20 years. Over the past two decades, this country has had at least five recessions: 1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-71 and 1974-75.
>
> Before blacks had a chance to recover from one of them they were subjected to another. While unemployment has only recently begun to go over 6 per cent, black unemployment has not been under 6 per cent at any time during the past two decades.[40]

Edward Brooke, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, notes that "the great majority of black people still live on the margin of economic existence." Thus while <u>statistically</u> the economic outlook for blacks has looked promising for the past twenty years, especially when compared with the economic outlook for whites, reality does not confirm the illusion. The fact is: (1) four of every five black families live on income which is below the middle-class living standard as defined by the Federal government; (2) almost one-third of the black population lives in poverty; and (3) poverty hits blacks disproportionately hard.[41]

Some immediate changes are possible. U.S. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, speakingto the NAACP convention in Washington, D.C., charged that job and social advancements for blacks will be stunted until America's economy recovers. He was interrupted by applause when he charged that racial discrimination has been a "glaring weakness" in America's past.[42] Concluding the 66th annual convention, the NAACP officially called for civil rights enforcement agencies, courts and Congress to protect the job rights for minorities and women during the recession, and specifically requesting the government to protect minorities and women from being victims of the traditional "last-hired, first-fired" approach to cutting back labor forces.[43]

The principle of job equality has been a requirement in U.S. Government contracts since 1941; five presidents have issued seven executive orders requiring non-discrimination provisions in all federal contracts; these contract clauses establish that those doing business with the Government must not practice job discrimination. With the issuance of Executive Order 11246 in 1965, the clear and direct power of the federal government to cancel or withhold contracts because of employment discrimination was firmly established. But in the past ten years, only nine companies have been barred from federal contracts for violations of the anti-discrimination clause. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the major governmental agency responsible for enforcement of the anti-discrimination clauses, has become generally ineffective. The report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in July 1975 charges that:

> the contract compliance program's widespread tolerance of violations of the Executive Orders and its virtual failure to impose any sanctions. The message communicated to government contractors is that there is no threat of debarment or

> other sanctions, and the effect is to obliterate any credibility in the program.[44]

The Los Angeles Times underscores this ineffectiveness, noting:

> Numerous cases have occurred where the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the federal courts have found major government contractors to be violating Title VII, the employment section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; but the Department of Defense and other government agencies continue to reward these companies with vast government contracts. Thus, the federal government has administratively nullified the great potential of the executive orders, made a mockery of the much-vaunted contract compliance program, and is directly subsidizing racial discrimination in employment using billions of dollars of public funds each year.[45]

An old adage of the civil rights struggle before 1960 was that "a law unenforced is as bad (or worse) as no law at all." The evidence is significant, that the "spirit" of civil rights legislation has become less frequently enforced. Urban Coalition director Ronald H. Brown blamed President Ford for implementing domestic policies which have been a "disaster" to blacks and other minorities, as well as for the nation's poor people in general.[46]

Major companies, institutions and organizations typically have adopted statements of policy on "affirmative action," a presumed guarantee that blacks and other minorities will receive fair consideration when employment decisions are made. Noting that affirmative action is not working well, Herbert Hill suggests:

> In addition to a fresh attack on discrimination in employment, the nation needs to revive its efforts in affirmative action if minorities are ever to catch up. The effort to eliminate the present effects of past discrimination, to right the wrongs of many generations was barely underway when it was aborted. And now, even the very modest gains made by black men and women through affirmative action are being erased, as powerful institutions turn the clock of history back to the dark and dismal days of "separate but equal."[47]

Noting that "affirmative action" has been promoted as equivalent to a "quota system" and/or "reverse discrimination," Hill explains that such confusion is unnecessary:

> there is a fundamental distinction between quotas and affirmative action based upon numerical goals. Quotas are used to exclude, while numerical goals are a means to include those workers who have been systematically excluded in the past. Quotas establish a ceiling--that is, a maximum. Numerical goals used in affirmative action programs establish only a minimum which can, and often ought to be, exceeded. In short, quotas have been used as a limitation, while numerical goals--the heart of affirmative action--represent the exact opposite.
>
> Those who attack the use of numerical goals often argue that affirmative action programs will penalize innocent whites who are not responsible for past discriminatory practices. This argument turns on the notion of individual rights, and sounds very moral and high-minded indeed. But it ignores basic social reality.
>
> For example, black workers have been denied jobs not as individuals, but as a class--no matter what their personal merits and qualifications. Women have not been denied training and jobs as individuals, but as a class, regardless of their individual talent or lack of it. Correspondingly, white males as a class have benefitted from this systematic discrimination. Whatever discriminatory employment patterns exist, hiring and promotion without affirmative action perpetuates injustice.[48]

The lofty goals of "affirmative action" have not succeeded in the economic arena, Hill concludes, because:

> for all practical purposes, governmental enforcement of affirmative action both in the private sector of the economy and in public employment has ceased, and the process of administrative nullification of civil rights laws and administrative regulations begun under Richard Nixon continues under President Ford.
>
> It is evident that new civil rights protest and litigation will be necessary to restrain the federal government from breaking its own laws.[49]

Economic conditions in the central cities: Watts

A New York Times survey found that depressed economic conditions in central cities, believed to have been among the major causes of riots and mass demonstrations in the 1960s and early 1970s, have been described as worse in 1975 than at any time in the previous decade. Social scientists and urban officials, while acknowledging the situation is volatile, suggest many explanations of how worsened social and economic conditions and an uneasy peace can exist: these include changes in ideology, channeling

of hostility into other outlets, and more massive and sophisticated police forces which "control" a state of peaceful co-existence.[50]

Watts, a community of 28,000, represents a classic illustration of the "predominantly-black" inner-city. Ten years ago, a summer of bloody rioting, burning and looting in the black ghetto of Watts in south Los Angeles stimulated massive concern about social justice, and economic, political and educational "needs." But ten years after the rioting, the Los Angeles Times reported that the innovative programs established in Watts have "just about vanished," and that "compared with the economic and spiritual desolation that exists today, the conditions that sparked six days of looting and burning a decade ago now seems almost salubrious." The Times concludes that "regrettably, the condition of Watts does not differ from that of most poor black communities." Although "the presence in the outer world of an increased number of successful blacks has created a false sense among white Americans that the nation's racial problems have been solved or are moving inexorably in that direction," the reality is that in Watts drug addiction has not declined; alcoholism is rising sharply; young black males under the age of 25 lead all statistical groups in suicides.[51] Thus Watts today is a community which has generally been abandoned by those who--through luck or ability--were able to "escape" the ghetto; this has left behind those without the luck or ability, without stable leadership. The age group between 25 and 50 years of age has been termed the "vanishing generation" of Watts.[52]

Stanley Sanders, 32 and a partner in an all-black law firm located near Beverly Hills, was a founder of the Watts Summer Festival. He notes that:

> Watts today was a product of the Nixon Administration policies and those in the Administration who urged neglect of black social issues. Shorn of Federal aid, the community no longer clings to the expectations that resulted in the riot a decade ago, . . . Now there is no hope for Watts and no unrealistic expectations held by the people stranded there.[53]

The Watts Summer Festival, founded the year after the riots in a "spirit of renaissance" has become "an uneasy summer confrontation chiefly between the black street gangs and the police"; admission is now charged, because the festival has lost over $150,000 in recent years.[54] White-owned shops and small plants which were burned in the riots were never re-opened; houses removed in urban renewal projects were not replaced; Los Angeles has a black mayor, and many top state posts are held by blacks. This is encouraging symbolically, but does little to ease daily living conditions. Black psychiatrist Roland Jefferson notes that the youth of Watts have moved more deeply into self-destructive pursuits, turning aggression inward through a variety of forms.[55]

Social Conditions

The social institutions which mattered most to Southern blacks who migrated northward and westward was the family--including immediate family, relatives, friends, one's church and fraternal organizations. It was on the family that black migrants, like white migrants, relied. Government as an entity had little reality at the individual level. Electoral politics, through the vehicle of local political organizations, became an extension of the family. As Lisle Carter concludes, blacks tended not to vote in the North and West because they did not identify closely with the political system.[56]

Conflicts between blacks and other ethnic groups are usually explained as simple racial discrimination, and nothing more. But

the issue is much more complicated. Robert Hill suggests that white Protestants in the U.S. are more likely to hold unfavorable racial attitudes which are not shared by other white ethnic groups. Some Catholics reflect prejudice against blacks because they live in marginal neighborhoods and have been victims of busing, red-lining and blockbusting; upper-class white Protestants, who have not had to deal with these issues on a personal level, may consider themselves to be enlightened and these attitudes are easy to maintain because intimate contact with minorities is limited. Contact between less privileged members of each group tends to be deeper and more intimate; thus the liklihood of friction is greatly increased.[57]

In a series of surveys conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan (1964, 1968, 1970, 1972 and 1974), documentation was obtained to support hypotheses that white American attitudes about blacks are changing; and most changes are positive. This series of studies included interviews with over 10,000 persons throughout the nation, one-tenth of whom were black. The shift in white attitudes about blacks, from 1964 to 1974, includes the following:

		1964	1974
1.	friends are all white	81%	53%
2.	neighborhood is all white	80%	61%
3.	co-workers are all white	53%	39%
4.	people encountered when shopping are all white	39%	15%

In two areas <u>negative</u> attitudes were expressed in 1964 and 1974; desegregation of jobs and schools, and the Federal role in desegregation. <u>Fewer</u> whites in 1974 believed the government should enforce school desegregation.[58]

The same surveys showed several changes in attitudes of white Americans during the same period (1964-1974), including:

1. Perceived contact with blacks is clearly associated with level of education. Whites with little education tend to have lost contact with blacks; college graduates have the most. Whites in metropolitan centers had more contact with blacks than those living elsewhere; younger whites and those with more education became more favorable in their attitudes toward blacks as the decade passed.

2. The proportion of whites believing in "strict segregation" declined from one-fourth to one-tenth during the decade.

3. The proportion believing the Federal Government should protect the rights of blacks to equal accommodations rose from 56 to 75 per cent.

4. The proportion believing blacks should have the right to move into any neighborhood they can afford rose from 65 to 87 per cent.

5. The South, which had been most negative as a region in 1964, remained the most negative region; but changes in the South were more pronounced than for other regions.[59]

In another survey, conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, it was discovered that American blacks were more cynical about American society than their white counterparts; that blacks are firm believers in education, living a "clean, normal life" and the importance of being physically strong.[60] Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovessey cite six effects which "can be inferred with certainty" as a result of the collective black experience:

1. Degradation of self-esteem.
2. Destruction of cultural forms and forced adoption of foreign cultural traits.
3. Destruction of the family unit, with particular disparagement of the male.
4. Relative enhancement of the female status, thus making her the central figure in the culture by virtue of her value to the white male for sexual ends and as mammy for the white children.
5. The destruction of social cohesion among Negroes by the inability to have their own culture.
6. The idealization of the white master; but with this ideal was incorporated an object which was at once revered and hated. These became incompatible constituents of the Negro personality.

Thus Kardiner and Ovessey explain black people received "an unpleasant image of himself from the behavior of others to him."[61] This type of overt racism seems to be disappearing, everywhere.

Historian Lerone Bennett, Jr. notes that in the early 1800s it was virtually impossible "to overestimate the importance of the black church. The church became a family function, helping preserve family cohesiveness.[62] William Pannell, a noted theologian, explains that:

> The development of the black church has tended to reflect a family orientation rather than a rugged individualistic approach. The family as tribe or the congregation and culture as tribe--these kinds of themes developed in the black church. The chieftain or pastor is really a father figure--the defender of the family and the intermediary between the family and the outside hostile world. That's the best way to see how the black pastor has functioned in this alien land.[63]

Two popular black ministers, Rev. Floyd Massey, Jr. of Los Angeles and Rev. Samuel B. McKinney of Seattle, explain that "the black church is the only institution that black people control free of white domination," thus is a rallying point for ideas on religion, politics and anything affecting the community welfare.[64]

Education

Black Americans have steadily increased their levels of attainment in all types of educational activity. While the number of black college students does not represent the percentage of blacks in society, educational opportunities remain relatively open to blacks and whites alike. But culturally-biased I.Q. and similar tests are often used to predict academic success or failure, a practice attacked by Dr. Robert I. Williams, a black psychologist. Williams, a professor of psychology at Washington University, claims most tests are based upon white middle-class values; Williams devised tests tp protest testing generally, but reactions were so strong he removed "trick" questions for whites and now uses the test to demonstrate that minorities have certain

abilities not measured by most I.Q. and other tests. Williams estimated over 250-million intelligence tests are given annually, and used to determine entry into all walks of life.[65]

A Rand Corporation study in 1976 in Los Angeles indicates that reading achievement of black pupils can be raised significantly (up to 12 points on a 100-point scale) if: teachers are trained well in how to use reading materials; if teachers believe in their ability to teach minority children; and classrooms are free of disruptions. Rand also suggested it helps greatly if teachers are free to adapt reading materials to their own classroom circumstances and if there is a high degree of interaction between parents and teachers and among teachers.[66]

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